/23 cont./

551 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

857 462 Games. On general lines, the play /lúdicas/ activities in which children take part are in direct relation to the division of labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lúdicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

524 Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

857 [349] But these games are practically only for town children or those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[526] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /25/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic acculturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family necklace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

● 524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura...," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
796 have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
831 majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect: "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[128 cont.]

796 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
535 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
●524 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
796 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some exam-
831 ples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
796 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused: they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

When young people are gathered together as during the dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

One of the games depicts a meeting between the lowlanders and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the lowlanders have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.